1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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direct with Zaria.) The Makama of Zaria was the Kauru "intermediary" (*kofa*), and the Galadiman Makama used to accompany the chief of Kauru on his annual visit to Zangon Katab, when tribute, in the form of slaves, was collected town by town. The Katab were not always, however, under control and would, on occasion, unite to drive the chief of Kauru out of Zangon Katab and pillage the Hausa inhabitants. Occurrences such as this were exceptional, for it was admitted that normally all Katab who committed serious offences were sent to Kauru to be sold into slavery. Thus one guilty of murder or burglary was dispatched to Kauru. He might be ransomed by his relatives, but as the ransom for a murderer was four slaves, the relatives seldom exercised the privilege. Minor offences could be dealt with locally. A small theft committed by a fellow clansman would be dealt with privately, the thief receiving a thrashing and being made to restore the stolen property. Or he might he haled before the sub-clan chief and elders (the elders generally acquiescing in the decision of the chief). The thief would be made to restore the stolen property and be mulcted in a fine, two-thirds of which would go to the complainant, the remaining one-third being divided among the chief and elders. An adulterer would also be haled before the chief and fined; but if he was a fellow clansman the injured husband would say nothing beyond abusing his wife. Disputes as to the paternity of children were determined by the administration of sass-wood to chickens representing the contending parties. Those charged with witchcraft were required to drink the sass-wood personally; but the permission of the sub-clan head had to be obtained before trials by ordeal could be held. Owing to the custom of contracting sub-marriages, disputes as to the paternity of children were, and still are, of daily occurrence. The complainant (the prior husband) went with the elders of his town to the town of his former wife's parents. The new husband also appeared, accompanied by his elders, and the matter was threshed out before the seniors of all three villages, the protagonists being the woman and her former husband. If the matter could not be decided the late husband and the new husband each produced a chicken and sass-wood was administered. The case was decided in favour of the man whose chicken survived.

This question of the contraction of sub-marriages and the

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38

these imposed duties " he was careful to mind his own business. Any excessive zeal would be rewarded with an arrow."

Under British Administration the system has altered considerably (quite apart from the prohibition of slavery). The Katuka, living permanently at Zangon Katab, is directly responsible to the Emir; the Katab tribal area has been divided, presumably on a strictly territorial basis, into seven Village-areas, and while the headmen of six of these seem to be " heirs " of the former heads of the sub-clans and small clans, it should be noted that the old Aswen administrative unit has apparently undergone fission, and a new, seventh, head has been created, on a basis as yet unknown.

The Katuka is said to have bowed to tradition in the matter of ceremonial and procured two swords of Prussian manufacture from Kauru, which are used in the installation of Village-area headmen in certain cases; here again, the available materials are difficult to interpret, but it seems that although the Katab have never had a tribal chief recognizable as such, Minyaim clan appears to occupy a prominent position, presumably as a result of which the Katuka has " issued " the ceremonial swords to the heads of Aswen and Fakan, who, according to Meek, " use the swords for swearing-in minor officials " of those two sub-clans only.[33]

Meek states further that the sub-clan and clan headmen " combine to form a native court which sits monthly at each of the sub-clan headquarters." The sub-clan [sic: head?] and elders also, form a deliberative assembly. Oaths were most frequently resorted to in cases of paternity, failure to settle which, by arbitration, might end in the administration of poison to fowls representing the parties to the dispute. A women may take an oath on her head-board, " May I die in childbirth if I lie! ". Traditionally, cases within a lineage of virtually any sort, with the possible exception of murder and theft, which are likely to have been very rare, were handled by the lineage heads. Within the sub-clan cases appear to have been settled by arbitration, perhaps by a disinterested lineage head. In inter-clan disputes it seems that another clan or sub-clan might adjudicate, but the position is not entirely clear.

Inheritance

In general " a man's property and titles pass to his sons or paternal nephews, brothers or paternal cousins," but Meek records exceptional cases where a sister's son received a share of the property of the deceased, and a man inherited from his maternal grandfather's widow. Females do not inherit from males, husbands from wives, parents from children, or grandchildren from grandparents, other than wives, as indicated already. Succession is by preference first to collaterals; inheritance equally to adult lineal descendants (sons).

The Life Cycle

Birth

To celebrate the first conception of a (married) woman, a " beer-feast " is held by the prospective father " for all his own and his wife's relatives." In general there are no religious observances in connection with pregnancy, however, though a specialist may be called in to administer " medicine " from time to time. The mother is delivered—sitting on her head-board—in her husband's compound,

Nigeria). It appears that the Katab occasionally rallied " to drive the chief of Kauru out of Zangon Katab and pillage the Hausa inhabitants", but their relationship with Kauru may well have been to some extent voluntary, as it enabled them to dispose of murderers, thieves, and possibly certain other kinds of criminals also. Whether these criminals were in effect deducted from their annual dues is not clear, but it seems unlikely.

[33] On the other hand, Meek adds that " no village headman would feel that he had been properly appointed if he had not been shown the sword," so that it seems possible that between them the heads of Aswen and Fakan may play an important part in confirming all the Village-area heads of the Katab tribe.

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when the deceased *gado* is said to return to the *abwai* hut: beer drinking and dancing take place on alternate days; every spirit voice is heard, and two masked dancers, also described by Reynolds as "dodone," both mute, appear—one, *kusak* (Hausa, *kajinjiri*), who dances with the women of the community, and the other, *daniel*, who parades about at night in a ponderous leaf-covered frame of bamboo. During this entire period, male clothing is restricted to a plaited raphia penis-sheath. Though it has been suggested that neck-cords or *kswandik* are intended to remind women of their marital obligations, and serve to restrain them from contracting new secondary marriages, and though, as has been noted, sexual relations between a man and his brothers' wives is a ritual offence, Reynolds is still of the opinion that *aswa* is a period of sexual licence in the community. At the end of the period of celebration, each wife in the village gives the gathering of cult members a final pot of beer, around the neck of which her *kswandik* is fastened.[122]

769 794 [291] [786]

Religious Beliefs and Practices

The general character of indigenous Kaje religion will be apparent in the above account of rituals and other practices associated with the life cycle. Few additional details are available, and these add little to the picture. 789

When the rains are overdue, the elders of the clan or tribal section meet at the local "rain 'tsafi' place," where the *atiyinhwap* performs a rain-making rite. Failure of this rite in past times brought a league of *atiyinhwap* of Banewhan, Batadon, and Baimbin to "inform" the *atiyinhwap* of Baiduan, who would perform similar rites on behalf of the whole tribe. For a number of years, however, only the *atiyinhwap* of Baimbin has persisted in carrying out these rites.

Acha-sowing rites, too, have fallen into disuse, apparently, except among Baimbin. If a trial sowing of mixed seed of the *atiyinhwap* sprouts satisfactorily, general sowing commences immediately; if not, *atiyinhwap* solicits offerings, presides over a feast of elders, and finally prays over the ground. 241

Acha harvest rites, however, are still commonly practised throughout Kaje, according to Reynolds. These begin much like the rain rites, with the *atiyinhwap* spreading acha paste on the stone at the "rain-shrine": from the rain-shrine, however, he retires to his compound, where he applies paste to the huts, to the floor and walls of his own hut, and finally to his bed. Similar rites are performed in every compound early the next morning, when the compound head selects "a sensible youth who would first spread the paste on an old hoe and then on the grave of his grandfather." Thereafter, huts and cornbins are treated, the nearest cross-roads, and the waterhole; and the head of the compound is given paste to eat, and calls on God and his ancestors to bless them. The youth then eats some of the paste and divides the remainder between members of the compound. Only when these rites are performed can the new acha be used in the regular way as food.

The sanctions against murder, violence between groups or even within the minimal lineage and incest, are traditionally of a supernatural sort, and such crimes might be expunged by ritual purifications: for example, a murderer was expelled to Kagoma, where he served the senior ritual head there as a slave, in effect, for a year; he then retired to Kurmin Bi, where the senior Kaje *atiyinhwap* performed a rite readmitting him to the general Kaje community; he then underwent further rituals in his own village.[123] 681 783

Theft and protracted debt were punished by fines; but the offended and offender were alike subject to oaths and ordeals credited with supernatural sanctions: these were administered by the priests and some are done still. 681 695

[122] On the basis of available materials it is impossible to comment on the apparent discrepancy between Meek's and Reynolds' accounts: Meek understood that this or a nearly identical celebration was recurrent at two- or three-year intervals; cf. Katab, farther above.

[123] Rape and adultery appear to have been left up to the offended party to deal with: the death of the offender ended the matter.

3: Temple G-4 (no date)1922 FF38 Katab FF38
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and head-hunting, and no man of the tribe is fully accredited until he has taken a human head; that of a monkey, hartebeeste, or one or two kinds of bok are accepted as a substitute. 727 885

Slaves were treated as members of the family, whether they were captured in war or given for four years' service in payment of a debt. The former only were liable to be sold. The average prices given were, for an old woman, 8,000 cowries = 4s.; for an old man, 10,000 cowries = 5s.; for a virgin, 16,000 cowries = 8s.; for a young man, 20,000 cowries = 10s., prices which compare unfavourably with those which horses would command, *i.e.*, 100,000 cowries = 50s., or even bulls, 20,000 cowries = 10s. 567 436

It is the duty of the Elders to settle boundaries, but an interloper is only punished, divinely, by failure of crops. Private quarrels are settled by vendetta, and the only crimes for which communal punishment is meted out are those against religion. These are punished by stoning to death—black magic by choking. The high priest, or "Meakwap," is in fact more powerful than the Chief, and it is he who regulates and administers trial by ordeal. It takes the form of a calabash of poison; the innocent vomits and is saved, the guilty dies. 681 [683] [793] 695

The ordinary form of oath is for a man to hold ashes, or corn, in his hand, and pray either that if he lies he may become as white as the ashes, or be killed by the next corn he eats. They say that in old times they were not so wicked, and observed many laws.

The Kagoro have no theory as to the origin of man, but they have heard of a great flood. 793

They believe that all souls survive and become ghosts, but that they may be re-born in the body of a descendant, male or female, when they live once more as ordinary mortals. The ghosts are thought to inhabit the sacred groves and hills, that they have no houses, but retain their voice and appearance, and ride, hunt, and fight as of old. They are always hungry and thirsty, and their descendants offer them food and drink, for neglect would be followed by punishment. They are constantly consulted, particularly about war and hunting, by the Elders, who spend three days in the sacred grove, when quantities of gia is drunk. 795

They are also propitiated when a compound is built on fresh ground. The father of the family first chooses the site and places stones where the granaries are to be, the blood of a fowl is then spilt and leaves of the "nok" tree (for luck), are buried on the chosen spot. The big men come and gia is poured over the site three times, and three incantations are made to invoke the aid of the ancestors and of those dead who might be buried in the vicinity. A drinking bout follows. Likewise when land is first farmed an offering of gia is made and when the corn is 342 795 [788] [293] 241 795

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Kaje

was then allowed to return to his village on giving an expiatory feast to the Elders, but might neither eat nor drink with other men for the rest of his life. 682

In a case of adultery the injured man could demand the death of both the guilty parties, otherwise they were banished for life, being treated as dogs and fed with scraps out of broken vessels until they were drummed out of the place by old women. Oath was taken by jumping forwards and backwards over a sword, an arrow, a skull, and the leaf of the male shea-butter tree. 684 695

Inheritance was to the male heirs in the following order: Sons, brothers, nephews, grand-children—failing these to the Chief. It was, however, common for a man to give his property away in his life-time, when he became a pensioner to the recipient. A brother or son inherited the deceased's widows, but with that exception a man might not marry the widow of any member of his clan. 428 [431]

In appearance the Kaje is slim and of fair physique, he is well built, but his extreme drunkenness has left a mark on the skull formation. 142 273

The men wear a short gown or leather loin-cloth and the youths plait their hair and ornament it with beads. The women shave their heads and wear a leather string round the waist to which is attached a wide cone with a wooden base. That of a Chief's daughter is bound with copper wire and the base is adorned with beads—the poorer women bind it with bamboo. When working on their farms this is discarded and the married women each morning pluck a wisp of vetch, some two feet long, and tuck it under the waist-belt leaving six inches hanging in front, while the long end is pulled back between the thighs so that it sticks out like a tail. Girls wear a small apron of cowrie shells. In Zaria the women wear wooden plugs in their upper and lower lips. 291 302 [554] 291 [301]

They are excellent farmers and breeders of live-stock. They manure the ground with dung from goats and fowls, and ashes. They are keen hunters (possessing a few horses), and are expert highway robbers, but they respect any property left on the road if a leaf of the male shea-butter tree has been placed upon it. 241 231 224 674

Their arms are the bow and arrow. 911

They live in compounds surrounded by high cactus hedges. The house and granary are in one, the former being entered through a low narrow verandah, which leads into a sort of hall, where pots are stored, and which runs along the whole width of the house. Within this is a bigger sleeping apartment, and within again a circular passage sometimes roofed with an attic above, enclosing the corn-bin. Between each room is a double doorway two and a half to three feet in height, in the grooves of which a mat or shield could be placed. The houses are of mud and the roofs [361] 342